

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 AID-05 PC-01 OMB-01 ACDA-12
IO-13 DOE-15 SOE-02 /119 W
-----039497 071406Z /14

O R 071300Z APR 78

FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6770

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

DIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NDJAMENA 1367

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, PINS, PBOR, CD, LY

SUBJECT: SITUATION IN CHAD

SUMMARY: WE HAVE SPENT THE WEEK CONFERRING WITH
FRENCH AND EGYPTIAN AMBASSADORS, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF
THE FOREIGN OFFICE, AND MID-LEVEL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS
IN AN ATTEMPT TO ASSESS PRESENT POSITION OF CHADIAN
GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO SEBHA II DECLARATION.
SITUATION NOW SEEMS MUCH CLEARER AND INVOLVES A FIRM
CHADIAN STAND WITH FRENCH SUPPORT. GOVERNMENT IS
STILL DESIROUS OF OBTAINING, THROUGH NEGOTIATION,
NATIONAL RECONCILIATION BUT IS NOT PREPARED TO
CAPITULATE TO LIBYAN DEMANDS AS ARTICULATED BY
FROLINAT. IT WILL ACCEPT THE POLICY OF A CEASE FIRE
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BY OUTSIDERS BUT WILL NOT AGREE TO AN INSPECTION OF
ITS MILITARY FACILITIES. THIS IS THE MESSAGE THAT WAS
CARRIED BY PRESIDENT MALLOUM TO KHARTOUM ON APRIL 5
AND WHICH HE INTENDS TO PERSONALLY TAKE TO
QADHAFI ON APRIL 8. BELIEVE WE CAN EXPECT SEVERE
REACTION FROM LIBYA AND FROLINAT.

1. PRESIDENT MALLOUM INFORMED FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON APRIL 1 THAT VICE PRESIDENT DJIME HAD BEEN PRESSURED AT BENGHAZI INTO SIGNING A DECLARATION THAT EXCEEDED HIS NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTIONS. NEITHER FRENCH AMBASSADOR NOR I SUBSCRIBE TO THE THEORY THAT VICE PRESIDENT WAS QUOTE BOUGHT UNQUOTE BY QADHAFI. IT SEEMS MUCH MORE LIKELY THAT: WITHOUT DIRECT CONTACT TO NDJAMENA, WITH THE MOVEMENT OF THE CONFERENCE THROUGH THREE DIFFERENT SITES, WITH EACH MOVE INVOLVING A REDUCTION OF THE NUMBER OF CHADIANS, WITH THE SUDANESE VICE PRESIDENT AND THE NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER OPENLY SIDING WITH QADHAFI, WITH FROLINAT INTRANSIGENCE, AND WITH QADHAFI ADDING HIS PERSONAL PRESENCE; DJIME WAS SIMPLY OVERWHELMED AND SIGNED WHATEVER WAS PUT IN FRONT OF HIM WITH THE HOPE THAT IT WOULD EITHER BE ACCEPTABLE OR COULD BE CHANGED LATER. IN FACT, DJIME NOW TAKES THE GROUND THAT THE DOCUMENT HE SIGNED WAS MERELY A POLITICAL COMMUNIQUE INDICATING GENERAL LINES OF APPROACH AND NOT A SPECIFIC AGREEMENT. PRESIDENT MALLOUM SECONDS THIS INTERPRETATION AND STATES THAT THERE ARE ONLY TWO AGREEMENTS HAVING ANY REAL MEANING IN NATIONAL RECONCILIATION; THE FIRST OF WHICH IS THE GOVERNMENT'S KHARTOUM AGREEMENT WITH HISSEN HABRE, AND THE SECOND OF WHICH IS THE SEBHA I COMMUNIQUE CALLING MERELY FOR A CEASE FIRE AND

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NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

2. PRESIDENT NIMEIRI REPORTEDLY ACCEPTED MALLOUM'S GENERAL POSITION AND RECOGNIZED THAT HE COULD IN NO FASHION AGREE TO THE REMOVAL OF FRENCH TROOPS. HOWEVER, HE DID ASK MALLOUM NOT TO SPECIFICALLY REPUDIATE THE EIGHT POINT DECLARATION. SUDANESE FIRST VICE PRESIDENT WAS EXTREMELY UNHAPPY OVER MALLOUM'S STAND, AS HE FELT HIS PERSONAL STATUS WAS INVOLVED.

3. PRESIDENT MALLOUM HAD INTENDED TO FOLLOW HIS KHARTOUM VISIT BY A SIMILAR STOP IN NIAMEY, BUT SCHEDULING DIFFICULTIES WITH PRESIDENT KOUNTCHE AND A FEELING THAT NIGER WOULD JUST AS SOON NOT KNOW CHADIAN STAND UNTIL IT HAD BEEN COMMUNICATED TO LIBYA CHANGED THIS INTENTION. PRESIDENT MALLOUM INTENDS TO DEPART FOR TRIPOLI EARLY ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 8. IN THE MEANTIME, REBEL RADIO HAS BEEN DENOUNCING GOVERNMENT IN MORE VIOLENT TERMS AND CALLED FOR A RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES. SOME MINOR FIGHTING HAS BROKEN OUT IN THE EASTERN AREA AND

INCREASED SHIPMENTS OF LIBYAN EQUIPMENT TO REBELS
HAVE BEEN REPORTED.

4. DIRECTOR GENERAL OF FOREIGN OFFICE, WHO
ATTENDED SEBHA II CONFERENCE, HAS TOLD ME THAT
FROLINAT DELEGATION WAS MADE UP OF YOUNG,
INEXPERIENCED MEN, MANY OF WHOM WERE KNOWN
PERSONALLY TO MEMBERS OF THE CHADIAN DELEGATION.
FROLINAT ACTIVITIES AND DECISIONS WERE, ACCORDING TO
HIM, COMPLETELY DOMINATED BY LIBYANS. WHENEVER A
NEW QUESTION WAS RAISED AT THE CONFERENCE, FROLINAT
REPRESENTATIVES ASKED FOR AN ADJOURNMENT AND, AFTER
OPEN CONSULTATIONS WITH LIBYANS, RETURNED WITH A
WRITTEN STATEMENT INVARIABLY COUCHED IN ANTI-
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IMPERIALIST, PRO-RADICAL, PROGRESSIVE TERMS. DIRECTOR
GENERAL SAID THAT, IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH
SOME OF THE FROLINAT REPRESENTATIVES, THE LATTER
STATED THEY WOULD HAVE NO TROUBLE REACHING
AGREEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN A PRIVATE MEETING,
BUT COULD NOT DO SO WITH LIBYA PRESENT. DIRECTOR
GENERAL FURTHER NOTED THAT THE DEMAND FOR THE COMPLETE
WITHDRAWAL OF IMPERIALIST PRESENCE (FRENCH AND
AMERICAN) WAS NEVER CHANGED DURING THE CONFERENCE.

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SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 AID-05 PC-01 OMB-01 ACDA-12
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O R 071300Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6771
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
DIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION 2 OF 2 NDJAMENA 1367

5. WITH THE DECISION OF PRESIDENT MALLOUM TO TAKE A DEFINITIVE STAND, INTERNAL ALIGNMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN CHANGING. KAMOUGUE HAS REAPPEARED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN SEVERAL WEEKS AND HAS BEEN ENTRUSTED WITH A DELICATE MISSION IN EASTERN CHAD INVOLVING THE SECURITY SITUATION IN ABECHE, WHERE THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT ANTI-FRENCH DEMONSTRATIONS, AND DIRECT CONTACT WITH HISEN HABRE NEAR BILTINE. CONVERSELY, A REDUCTION IN THE STATUS OF MINISTER GOUARA LASSOU WAS MADE CLEAR WHEN MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT SPECIFICALLY CALLED TO THE ATTENTION OF FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND I AT AIRPORT THAT HE WAS NOT ACCOMPANYING MALLOUM TO KHARTOUM, AND WAS BEING REPLACED ON DELEGATION BY MINISTER ROASNGAR, WHO HAS TENDED TO TAKE A HARDER LINE ON DEALING WITH LIBYA.
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6. GOVERNMENT STILL PLANS TO CHANGE ITS COMPOSITION TO INCLUDE HABRE AND OTHER REBEL LEADERS, BUT APRIL 5 DEADLINE HAS SLIPPED BACKWARD.

7. COMMENT: PRESIDENT MALLOUM'S FIRM STAND IS UNDOUBTEDLY COMING TO INCREASE THE TENSION SURROUNDING THE UPCOMING APRIL 13 INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION, AND MAY WELL KICK OFF THE CAMPAIGN OF URBAN TERRORISM SO OFTEN THREATENED BY FROLINAT. WHETHER OR NOT FROLINAT AND LIBYA WILL WANT TO RISK ENGAGING CHADIAN ARMY REINFORCED BY FRENCH IN THE FIELD REMAINS TO BE SEEN. ON POSITIVE SIDE, MALLOUM'S DECISION IS REASSURING AS FAR AS OUR FUTURE PRESENCE AND PROGRAMS IN CHAD ARE CONCERNED.BRADFORD

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Message Attributes

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Subject: SITUATION IN CHAD SUMMARY: WE HAVE SPENT THE WEEK CONFERRING WITH FRENCH AND EGYPTIAN AMBASSADORS, DIRECTOR GENERAL
TAGS: PEPR, PINS, PBOR, CD, LY, (MALLOUM, FELIX), (DJIME NGAKINAR, MAMARI)
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